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韩愈两度南贬与诗路书写翦论

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摘　要: 韩愈的阳山之贬和潮州之贬,无论路途之遥还是谪罚之重,都是同期贬官中最堪关注者。其诗路创作,除数量之大幅增加、质量之显著提升外,于写景记异、纪地述行、特别事件与人事交往、人文景观及其历史文化内涵诸方面,均独具特色。仅就其两度南贬途中正面涉及之主要地点、景观言,即达三十余处,其中不少具有唯一性和标识性价值。至于像蓝关、武关、层峰驿、楚昭王庙、洞庭湖、岳阳楼、汨罗江等,虽已有不少诗人涉及,但韩诗的描写或角度独特,或感触深挚,某种程度上为其增添了贬官视野中所特有的地理色彩和文化印记。质言之,这既是自然景观与文化风俗异质性不断刺激的结果,也是作者遭受政治打击所导致的发泄欲望的表现。至于常被人忽略的诗路同伴(阳山路途之张署,潮州路途之韩湘)及沿途酬赠诗创作,亦为了解韩愈诗路书写之一要项,而不宜轻易放过。

关键词: 韩愈;两度南贬;诗路书写

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唐德宗贞元末至宪宗元和末,韩愈屡遭贬迁,可谓同期贬官中次数最多、贬地最远、在贬途所受磨难最大者之一。更值得关注的是,韩愈在其两度南贬、量移过程中,通过诗路书写,记录了贬途里程、所用时日、沿途景观,表现了政治变局、个体遭际、心路变化等诸多内容,为其所经路途留下了颇具价值的历史印记。本文拟从诗路书写的角度,重点就其两度南贬之整体情形、创作特点、诗路同伴及沿途酬唱等予以探究,以期在前人研究的基础上对理解韩愈其人其诗有所推进。

一、两度南贬之整体观照

从贬迁次数看,韩愈始于贞元十九年(803)十二月,由监察御史被贬连州阳山令,二十一年(805)量移江陵法曹参军,继于元和二年(807)春夏间自国子博士分司东都,元和六年(811)岁末自职方郎中下迁国子博士,元和十一年(816)五月自中书舍人降为太子右庶子,终于元和十四年(819)正月自刑部侍郎贬为潮州刺史,同年十月量移袁州刺史;在短短十七年间,被贬被迁达七次之多,大抵位于同期贬官贬迁次数之前列。

从贬谪地域看,韩愈以上七次贬迁所受打击不尽相同:元和六年、十一年两次仅为降职,而无地理迁徙;元和二年分司东都,虽有地理迁徙,却并不遥远;只有贞元十九年、元和十四年的两次贬谪,一为连州阳山,一为潮州潮阳,可谓地域荒远,所受打击巨大。连州,初属岭南道,后改属江南西道,据《元和郡县图志》,其“西北至上都三千六百六十五里”,属县阳山“西北至州水路一百七十四里”①,二者相加,知阳

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① 李吉甫撰,贺次君点校:《元和郡县图志》卷二九《江南道五》,北京:中华书局 1983 年版,第 711 页。按:《通典》卷一八三、《旧唐书》卷四十、《太平寰宇记》卷一一七记连州至长安距离分别为 3805、3665、3650 里(见杜佑撰,王文锦等点校:《通典》,北京:中华书局 1988 年版,第 4880 页;刘昫等:《旧唐书》,北京:中华书局 1975 年版,第 1619 页;乐史撰,王文楚等点校:《太平寰宇记》,北京:中华书局 2007 年版,第 2365 页),今姑以《元和志》为准。

噪争署置”①,其用语之狠重、辛辣,抨击之严厉、果决,已至极限。也因此使其诗作充满一种政治性、攻击性特点,其心态和情感是躁郁的、外扩的,其诗作风格是奇险的、豪横的;而至其再贬阳山之时,因其《论佛骨表》的批评对象是最高统治者君主,而表中直言“事佛求福,乃更得祸”②,刺痛了帝王欲求福寿的软肋,故使得“宪宗怒甚”且“将加极法”③。大概正是这种帝王的雷霆之怒,兼之韩愈本人也意识到了自己“言涉不敬”的过错,故于贬途一再服输认罪,声言“我今罪重无归望,直去长安路八千”④“不知四罪地,岂有再起辰”⑤“正名定罪,万死犹轻”⑥,故其所作诗多呈现内敛的、自责的、悲哀的情绪,影响到其诗的风格,自然趋向婉顺、平和。所有这些,均为致使韩愈诗路书写具有不同风貌之要因,只是限于题旨,本文于此不予展开,而拟于另文再作探究。

The Study of Han Yu's Two Exiles to South China and his Poetic Writings on the Way to the Places of Exile

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Abstract: So far as the long distance to the places of exile and the severe punishment were concerned, Han Yu's (韩愈) exiles to Yangshan (阳山) and Chaozhou (潮州) were the most notable among his contemporary exiled officials. In addition to the significant increase in quantity and quality, his poems created on the way to the places of exile were unique in the writing of sceneries, objects, places, behaviors, special events, personal interactions, and humanistic landscapes with their historical and cultural connotations. There were more than 30 major places and landscapes mentioned directly on the way to the two places of exile, many of which were of unique and iconic values. As for the Languan Pass (蓝关), the Wuguan Pass (武关), the Cengfeng Postal Relay Station (层峰驿), the Temple of the King Zhao of the Chu State (楚昭王庙), the Dongting Lake (洞庭湖), the Yueyang Tower (岳阳楼) and the Miluo River (汨罗江), although many poets had already described them, Han Yu's descriptions were either unique in perspective or deep in feeling, which added special geographical color and cultural imprint to them from his vision as an exiled official. Briefly speaking, this was the result of the constant stimulations by the heterogeneity of natural landscapes and cultural customs, as well as the expression of the author's desire to vent his frustration caused by political strikes. As for his companions like Zhang Shu (张署) on the way to Yangshan and Han Xiang (韩湘) on the way to Chaozhou, who had often been overlooked, and as for his communicative poems along the way, they were also important parts to understand his poetic writings on his way to the places of exile, and therefore, they should not be dismissed at ease.

Key words: Han Yu (韩愈); two exiles to South China; poem writing on the way

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① 《韩昌黎诗系年集释》卷三《永贞行》,第 332 页。
② 《韩昌黎文集校注》卷八,第 874 页。
③ 《旧唐书》卷一六〇《韩愈传》,第 4200 页。
④ 《韩昌黎诗系年集释》卷十一《武关西逢配流吐蕃》,第 1101 页。
⑤ 《韩昌黎诗系年集释》卷十一《赠别元十八协律六首》其四,第 1129 页。
⑥ 《韩昌黎文集校注》卷八《潮州刺史谢上表》,第 880 页。